AN INQUIRY

Into SOME of the

CAUSES

Of the Ill Situation of the

Affairs of *IRELAND*.

Price One Shilling.

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AN

INQUIRY

Into SOME of the

CAUSES

Of the Ill Situation of the

Affairs of *IRELAND*;

WITH

Some REFLEXIONS on the Trade, Manufactures, &c. of *England*.

Nuper Divitiæ Avaritiam, & abundantes Voluptates Desiderium, per Luxum atque Libidinem, pereundi perdendique omnia invexere. Liv.

In most of the Books and Pamphlets which come to us from *Ireland*, we have seen a deplorable Account of that Nation.—They have had neither Wars, nor Pestilence, nor Famine; and yet the Miseries of the lower sort of People there, is not to be described.

Fog's Journal, No. 20. 1731.

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W. Musgrave.

AN INQUIRY

INTO

Some of the Causes of the Ill Situation of the Affairs of *IRELAND*.

THE present Circumstances of *Ireland* afford a very disagreeable Prospect to her Inhabitants; we are daily running in Debt; our Publick Funds prove deficient; our little Trade is diminished; our Farmers are in a breaking Condition; the Value of Land is lessened; Money is scarce to a degree, and consequently our Credit sinking; our Manufacturers are poor, idle and extravagant,

forming Combinations, to themselves hurtful, to the Nation destructive. Notwithstanding these pressing Evils, many of our *Gentry*, regardless of the *Publick Good*, seem drowned in *Luxury*; the Number and Expence of our *publick Diversions* must bring Grief into every honest Heart, to see greater Encouragement given to the Invention of a *new Entertainment*, than of a *new Manufacture*, and a large Subscription easier filled for the one, than the least Countenance procured for the other, ought, if any Spark of *Publick Virtue* yet remains, to raise in us a Sense of our impending Ruin.

The Conduct of many would induce a Belief, that they thought the Affairs of *Ireland* irretrievable; that therefore a short and merry Life was to be chosen, and the first Encouragement given to such, as could contrive Means to divert us from thinking on those Particulars, which most nearly regard us and our Posterity. But although our Condition is not desirable, and many Attempts to revive our sinking Country, have been baffled by *Luxury*, and its *Auxiliaries*, yet our Circumstances cannot be esteemed desperate; the *Parliament* is assembled; the Members are resolved to serve their *Country*, and apply Remedies suitable to the Necessity of the Times.

It may be objected, and must be confessed, that History furnishes us with Instances of *Parliaments*, *Senates*, *Councils* and *Dyets*, meeting without any great Good thence accruing to the respective *Nations*; the Members composing such Assemblies have been divided into four Classes, and according to the Prevalency of one or other of these Divisions, greater or less Good ensued. For instance, *First*, Those that were possessed of publick and profitable Employments, and were so enamoured with them, that they resolved to keep them at any Rate; they resigned their Judgments to the Inclinations of their Superiors, or more properly to their own sordid Interest. *There were always bad Men, and in a wicked, ambitious Reign very dangerous.*

Secondly, Those who earnestly desired to be in the Situation of the *first Class* on the same Terms; to make themselves appear necessary, and of Consequence to deserve a Price, and to shew their Skill in embarassing, they prostituted, with their Virtue, the venerable Name of *Publick Good*; and under that Pretence opposed all, nay the most necessary Measures of their Superiors: but when the Bargain was struck, they tacked generally without Decency, and

the Fish being caught, they laughed at their own Arguments being retorted. *These were always bad Men, and in a good Reign very troublesome; they greatly retarded the publick Affairs.*

The *Third Class* has been composed of those, who really wished well both to their Prince and Country, and would have promoted the true Interest of either, by any daring or honourable Action, which required no great Application; but they were either so weighed down by Indolence, so blinded by the tyrannical Influence of some particular Passion, or so violently carried in pursuit of Pleasures, that *publick Diversions*, a Day's Hunting, the love of Retirement, or the meeting of a few Friends, could make them withdraw from the Service of the *Publick*; thus they became unacquainted with the true Interest of their Country*. *While such Dispositions prevailed, these were not esteemed the most valuable Members of the Society, but Experience often converted them into the best of Patriots.*

The Members of the *Fourth Class* acted the same way in Employment, and out of Employment; they were steadily resolved to

* Inscitia Reipublicæ ut alienæ. *Tacit.*

to render the most useful Service in their Power, both to their Prince and Country; this was the Motive of their offering themselves to the Election of their Country; this their Motive of resorting to Parliament; this their Motive both in taking and resigning Employments; to obtain this, they neither spared Time nor Labour; from the Pursuit of this, they were neither to be deterred nor allured. *Such Men as these have been the Support of every virtuous State; and of such as these our Parliaments have been composed for many Years.*

Now it cannot seem strange, that in Times when Honours and Seats in Parliament were corruptly obtained, the first Class gained a Superiority, and executed their Trust in the same manner it was obtained *, or that in Times of prevailing Luxury the Third Class was greatly augmented; in either Case little Good was to be expected. But it is our inexpressibe Happiness, that *We have a gracious King, whose private Life is an example of Virtue, Frugality, and Application to Business, whose Honours and Preferments are evidently the Rewards of Virtue, and whose publick Actions demonstrate his unwearied Endeavours, to make Us a Happy, Industrious*

* Nemo unquàm imperium flagitio quæsitum, bonis artibus exercuit.

strious and Wealthy People. Under such a *Prince* the Members of the First Class, if any such there were, must act as *Patriots*, those of the Second Class must be silent; the Third Class, ashamed of Singularity, must apply themselves to Business: in a word, all Parties retiring into the Fourth *Division*, like the *Roman* Armies into the *Triarii* *, under the Auspicious Influence of their Gracious Sovereign, jointly make a vigorous Attack on the prevailing *Luxury* of the Nation. Nor can this be doubted of, since Our Members can say with *Valerius Corvinus*, their Seats were obtained by Merit †, and their past Conduct makes Us rest assured, that both their publick and private Actions will tend to the Good of the Country ||.

While our *Legislators* are thus laudably employed, while they, fired by the *Love of their Country* **, are entailing on themselves immortal Praises; on the Nation future Happiness: it is undoubtedly the Duty of every Person, even in the privatest Station, to contribute his Mite to so good a Work; that by a great Number of small Offerings, a large *Sacrifice* may be made to Our *Country*. In

* Res reducta est ad Triarios.

† Præmium Virtutis non Sanguinis. *Liv.*

|| Quibus artibus petierat Magistratum, iisdem gerebat. *Liv.*

** Amor Patriæ, laudisque immensa Cupido. *Virg.*

In order to form a right judgment of our Affairs, it must be observed, that the present *Protestant Inhabitants* are the Descendants of *Britons*, either transplanted into *Ireland*, as Military Adventurers, or allured over by the Profits of Employments and the Prospects of *Trade*; or else driven by Misfortunes from their own Country. The Protestant Interest of *Ireland* has thus grown under the Wings of *England*, and does now, and ever must exist by her Protection; consequently *Ireland is a dependent Kingdom*. This is always to be kept in View, otherwise we shall fall into numberless Errors, and consume our Time in *Impracticable Schemes*, from which no Good, but much Mischief, may ensue to our Country.

Since the Reign of *Henry* II. *Ireland* has been divided into the *English* and *Irish Interest*; the Superiority of the Latter in *Henry* VII's Time, gave rise to that famous Statute, known by the name of *Poyning's Law*, a Law at that time very necessary to support the *English Interest*: but altho' the Reasons requiring it are long since ceased, yet (may the Expression be borrowed from a *Reverend* Use) it is held in *Morte-main*.

Since

Since the *Reformation* the Names of *English* and *Irish* Interest, have been changed into the *Protestant* and *Popish Interests of Ireland*; this Consideration of *Religion*, greatly increased the *Feuds* existing betwixt the two Parties, and has been productive of *Rebellions*, *Massacres* and *Wars*; as *Tyrone's Rebellion*, the *Bloody Butchery* 1641, and the *Wars* at the late *Happy Revolution* plainly shew. As at each of these *Critical Junctures* the *English* Interest prevailed, the Forfeitures thence arising, greatly strengthened the Protestant Interest of *Ireland*; and as without the powerful Assistance of *England*, the *Protestant* or *English Interest* must inevitably have been extinguished at each of these remarkable *Periods*, the present Protestant Inhabitants of this Kingdom, cannot express too great a *Gratitude* to their Elder Brothers of *England*; at the same Time it must be observed, that *England* never expended Blood and Treasure to better purpose, than in the Preservation of *Ireland*; having ever since received the whole Profit of the *Trade and Manufactures of this Kingdom*, as will plainly appear by the Sequel of this Paper.

Before

Before the Rebellion of the *Irish* 1641, there were *few or no Manufactures in Ireland*; the People were miserably Poor; the Houses mostly insignificant Cottages; and the publick Revenues were inconsiderable. *The English Interest was supported by English Money and English Troops*, not with a View to the vast Profit and Gain, which have since accrued to *England* from *Ireland*, but only to prevent this *Island* from falling under the Jurisdiction of some foreign *Prince*, who had it in his Inclinations, and would thereby have had it in his Power to disturb the Quiet of *England*: This was attempted by the *Spaniard*, when he assisted the Rebels in *Queen Elizabeth*'s Time.

The first deadly Blow given to the Popish Interest of *Ireland* was by *Oliver Cromwel*, who pushed his Victories with such Rapidity, that he met with little Opposition: But the *Glorious King William* had the honour of perfecting the Security of the Protestant Interest in *Ireland*; since which time, We have had Leisure to attend the *Culture of Land and the Improvement of Manufactures*, and might have been in a happy Situation at this time, did not many Causes conspire to retard the Prosperity of this *Kingdom*. These may be divided, into such as Providence hath put out of our

Reach, and ſuch as yet remain in the Power of our *Virtue* to remove.

The *firſt* Place in the firſt *Claſs* is undoubtedly due to our *Abſentees*; they ſpend annually 600000 *l. Ster.* of *Iriſh Money in England*, refunding nothing; as by a Liſt of our *Abſentees* publiſhed two Years ago evidently appears: the Author took great pains in making a faithful Collection, and no conſiderable Errors are yet diſcovered. Beſides it is notorious, that by reaſon of the Poverty of our Dealers a great part of the *Iriſh Trade* is carried on by *Engliſh Merchants*, the Profit of which, with the Money paid for the Freight of moſt of our Commodities in *Britiſh Bottoms*, evidently center in *England*, and may be added to the Sums ſpent by our *Abſentees*, who are always eſteemed one great Cauſe of the Miſeries of this *Country*; but it is to be feared, that this Evil can never be removed but by Poverty; *God forbid.* Our *Abſentees* make ſo conſiderable an Article in the *Engliſh Trade*, that we cannot deſire their Aſſiſtance in this particular; it is juſt, ſome Care ſhould be taken to enforce a *Reſidence in Perſons ſupported by the Eſtabliſhment*, but a thought of any thing general on this Head, would be unbecoming a free People; it would

would destroy both *Liberty* and *Property*, and would injure *Ireland* more by sinking the Value of her Land, than could be counterbalanced by any possible Advantage. Besides, We may look on the Money spent in *England* by our *Absentees* as the Rate of our Dependency, and a sort of Rent payable to the *English* Nation for our Protection.

Some Limitations on the *Trade* and *Manufactures* of *Ireland*, may justly be esteemed another Cause of our Poverty. When we consider, that both the Power and Riches of *England* are owing to the Flourishing of her *Trade* and *Manufactures*, and at the same time consider our own State of *Dependency*, we cannot with Reason expect Encouragement for any *Trade* or *Manufacture*, which the *English* may apprehend to be injurious to their own *Staple*. If they are mistaken, it is our Duty, by fairly stating the Case, to attempt undeceiving them; and when they are convinced, that it is equally their Interest to promote the *Trade* and *Manufactures* of *Ireland*, as that of any *City* or *Shire* of *England*, We may with assurance expect both Encouragement and Assistance. Nor can this be look'd on as a very distant Prospect.

The Parliament of *England* has at all times exerted its utmoſt Endeavours in the Promotion of *Trade* and *Manufactures*; for by their Means, Wealth is brought into the Nation, the Poor employed, rendered induſtrious, and comfortably maintained; the Quantity of Shipping (the true Strength of the Nation) increaſed, and the Publick thereby enabled to ſupport Fleets and Armies, for the Protection and Glory of the *Kingdom*. Now, if it could be demonſtrated, that the Flouriſhing of *Trade* and *Manufactures* in *Ireland* would produce the ſame Effects, and equally promote thoſe glorious Ends to *England*, it is not to be doubted, but a *Britiſh Parliament* would in a Moment open our Ports to Exportation, as free as the *Thames*, and thereby ſet our Hands at *Liberty*.

Before the *Iriſh Papiſts* were thoroughly reduced by *Oliver Cromwel*, *Ireland* was only a dead Weight on the Shoulders of *England*; *Ireland* had then little or no *Trade*, few or no *Manufactures*, her publick Revenues not worth naming, the *Troops* neceſſary to ſupport the *Engliſh Intereſt* being paid, cloathed, and furniſhed with Ammunition from *England*; at that time there was no Vent in *Ireland* for

Engliſh

English consumable Commodities; Poverty and the Effects of War supplied the Place of Luxury, and the *Irish Gentlemen* were too poor to be *Absentees*. An *Irish Gentleman* was then a Rarity in *England*, so great a Rarity, that many thousands never saw one; whence sprung the strange Notions *about the Wild* Irish *being taken in the Woods by Nets*; about the same time that Maxim was received into the *English* Politicks, *that keeping* Ireland *poor, was highly advantageous to* England, and therefore it was necessary to cramp her *Trade*, and discourage her *Manufactures*. Nor was this Opinion ill founded at the Time it was formed, Experience shewed, that as long as the *Irish* or *Popish* Interest was superior, the more powerful the *Irish* were, the greater Disturbances were created to *England*; they either struggled to throw off the *English* Government, or else to establish the *Popish Religion*.

But although, unfortunately for this *Kingdom*, it still bears the Name of *Ireland*, and the Protestant Inhabitants, the Denomination of *Irish*, with old Ideas annexed to them of Opposition to the Interest of *England*, and altho' these Ideas are so strongly associated, like *Sprights and Darkness*, that many generous *Britons* find it difficult,

on

on the plaineſt Conviction, to ſeparate them *; yet in reality, the Scene is quite changed from what it was, when ſo diſadvantageous a Way of thinking of *Ireland* took riſe. Now, almoſt all the Lands of *Ireland* are in the Poſſeſſion of the Deſcendants of *Britiſh Proteſtants*, linked in the ſtrongeſt Manner, as well by Civil and Eccleſiaſtical Intereſt, as by Inclination to the Fortunes of *Great Britain*.

The *Proteſtant* Inhabitants of *Ireland*, by their Induſtry in *Agriculture* and the *Linnen Manufacture*, have ſo improved this *Iſland*, that it now ſupports its own *Eſtabliſhment*, and maintains *Twelve thouſand Men*, at all times ready for the Service of *Britain*. *Ireland* now conſumes of *Engliſh Commodities and Manufactures* to the Value of above 600,000 *l. ſterl. per Ann.* The *Iriſh* Nobility and Gentry greatly reſide in *England*, and ſpend there at leaſt 600,000 *l. per Ann.* of *Iriſh* Money, ſo that *England* gains by *Ireland*, according to the moſt modeſt Computation, 1200,000 *l. ſterl. per Ann.* and yet to this great Sum muſt be added, the Profit ariſing to *England*, from the Re-Exportation of our *Linnen Manufacture*, from that part

* *Vide* Eſſay on Human Underſt. *Cap.* Aſſociation of Ideas.

part of our Trade which is carried on by *English* Merchants, and from the Money paid for transporting our Commodities in *English* Bottoms; let these Articles be valued only at 200,000 *l. per Ann.* and then the *English* Nation gains by *Ireland*, 1400,000 *l. per Ann.* an immense Sum! The Profit arising to *England* from all its Plantations and Islands in *America*, according to the highest Computation, never exceeded 1700,000 *l. per Ann.*

In the Year 1672, when *Ireland* had some *Trade*, and had made some progress in *Manufactures*, the *Committee of Trade* computed, with great Accuracy, that the *Irish Absentees spent* 300,000 *l. per Ann.* in *England*, and the Value of consumable Commodities imported from thence, amounted to a like Sum; is it not therefore past Dispute, that the Improvement of *Irish* Manufactures since that time, has doubled those Advantages to the *English* Nation? Sure then, if the Trade and Manufactures of *Ireland* were reduced to the Condition they were in *Anno* 1672, *England* would lose 700,000 *l. per Ann.* And if we suppose them in the State they were in any time before the *Year* 1650, 1400,000 *l. per Ann.* a Sum equal to, if not exceeding, the Value of one half of the

the whole Woollen Manufacture, exported from *England* in one Year.

If these Premisses are just, this Conclusion must necessarily follow: *That the Improvements made in the Culture of Land, in the Trade, and in the Manufactures of* Ireland, *within these eighty Years, have had the same Effects on* England, *by employing her Poor, by bringing Wealth into the Country, and by encreasing the Number of Shipping, as if the said Improvements had been made in* Yorkshire, *or any other County of* England.

Let us now suppose *Ireland* in Possession of more extensive *Manufactures* and a free *Trade:* The Value of Land undoubtedly would thereby be encreased, and the Country greatly enlarged; wild and unpassable Mountains would be brought into Culture, and unhealthy Bogs and Marshes converted into arable Ground; thousands of Families starving with Cold and Hunger would be well fed, and comfortably cloathed; our smoky Cottages would be changed into warm Farm-Houses, and an industrious Protestant *Yeomanry* would thence arise, at all times able and ready to assist *Britain*; they would have comfortable Settlements to contend for, which the

the flourishing Condition of *Britain* could only protect. These would indeed be Blessings to *Ireland*, and how they would affect *England*, Experience shews. The respective Balances which would accrue to *Ireland* by Trade, and the Exportation of Manufactures into foreign Parts, would be remitted to *London*, to pay for greater Quantities of consumable Commodities then imported from *England*, and to support a greater Number of *Absentees*. In half a Century *England* might expect to see these valuable Articles of her *Trade* double what they are now; then *Ireland* would be of greater Advantage to *England*, than the whole Exportation of her *Woollen Manufacture*, now universally acknowledged the *Basis* of her *Trade*.

In proportion to the Prosperity of *Ireland*, the Number and Value of her Employments must increase; and do not *British* Gentlemen find the considerable Preferments in *Ireland*, in the *Church*, in the *State*, and in the *Army*, equally advantageous to them, as if *Ireland* was Part of the same Island?

If a Proposal should be made in the *British Parliament*, to exclude some particular Counties from certain Manufac-

tures, that they might flourish more in Places nearer the Metropolis; would not the Answer be, That as the Nation in general received equal Benefit, it was indifferent in what Part they were carried on; That *cheap Labour* was the Life and Preserver of every Manufacture, which could only be procured by a Number of Hands; the more diffusive therefore any Manufacture was, so much the better for the Country? If this Answer would be just, if it be true, that *England* reaps equal Benefit from the Trade and Manufactures of *Ireland* as from those of *England*: If it be true, that the Protestant Inhabitants of *Ireland* are inseparably linked to the Interest of *Great Britain*, Why should so many thousand Hands be tyed up in *Ireland*, from working in the *English Favourite Manufactures?* It cannot be, because his Majesty's *British* Subjects in *Ireland* are separated from his *British* Subjects in *Britain*, by a little Gutt of Water of six Hours sail.——The *Isle of Wight* is not excluded for that Reason. It cannot be because the Protestant Inhabitants are distinguished by the Name, *Irish*. The People of *Shropshire* suffer no Inconvenience for being called *Salopians*. It cannot be because the *English* Constitution is rejected in *Ireland*. It cannot be on account

count of any Disloyalty of the Protestants of *Ireland* to their Prince, or because they have ever run counter to the true Interest of *Britain*, or ever created her trouble; for it is notorious that the Grand Rebellion of *Tyrone* in *Queen Elizabeth's Reign*, and the bloody Massacre 1641, both took their Rise in the North of *Ireland*: but as the Linnen Manufacture and thereby the Protestant Interest took footing there before the late Revolution, at that happy Period, the Inhabitants of the North of *Ireland* were able to make a Stand against the Power of confederated Catholicks, and baffled their abdicated King in many of his Attempts. And Manufactures still increasing in *Ireland*, the Protestant Interest gained such a Superiority, that when an unnatural Rebellion was raised in *England* and *Scotland*, against our late good and truly Protestant King, *Ireland* was all hushed, and in a Condition to spare all her Troops, had they been required, for the Protection of the Protestant Interest of *Britain*.

But it may be objected, *If* Ireland *should grow Rich by Trade and Manufactures, she might grow proud, and her Protestant Inhabitants attempt throwing off their Dependency on* England. This is an As-

ſertion unſupported both by Facts and Reaſon; Experience ſhews, that as the Proteſtant Inhabitants of *Ireland* have improved in Manufactures, Inclination has tied the Knot of their Dependance, and demonſtrative Reaſon proves, that as they ſhall make further Progreſs in them, Intereſt, the Bond both of the Good and Wicked, will draw it harder. Ireland *will throw off its Dependency*, is a ſounding Expreſſion, and may be of uſe in a Popular Harangue, to hide Pique, Private Reſentment, or ſelfiſh Views: But as it cannot be conceived, that any one competent Judge will ever have the leaſt Apprehenſion of it, it is a difficult Task to be ſerious on the Subject.

But it may be objected by ſome *Iriſh* Proteſtant, *That our hopes are vain, for the Application of any ſingle Corporation in* England, *can overturn any thing deſigned for the Good of* Ireland.

It muſt be confeſſed, that this has ſometimes been the Caſe; but it is to be hoped, that the *Wiſdom of the* Britiſh *Nation* will in time ſee the Difference betwixt pleaſing the Manufacturers, and encouraging the Manufacture in general; the Difference is ſo great, that it is impoſſible, at the

the ſame time, and by the ſame Means, to anſwer both theſe Ends. The Manufacturer deſires that his Profit may be exorbitant, the Price of Labour dear, and the domeſtick Value of the Manufacture enhanced; but the Good of the Manufacture in general requires the direct contrary.

How Manufactures would flouriſh, had Manufacturers the Management of them, may be plainly ſeen by the Conduct of *Corporations*, deſigned at firſt for the Promotion of Handicraft-Trades and Manufactures. But woful Experience teaches us, that they are ſo far from anſwering the Ends of their Creation, or indeed any valuable Purpoſe, that they abound with all the Evils of *Monopolies*, ſo often and ſo juſtly complain'd of by the *Engliſh Parliaments*. Nothing beneficial to the Publick is ever the Reſult of their Conſultations. They only produce unlawful Combinations, deſtructive of their reſpective Manufactures, and only ſerve as a Pretext to hinder their induſtrious Fellow-Subjects, not bred within the Precincts of the Corporation, from getting an honeſt Livelihood unleſs they largely contribute to their Exceſſes.

If

If ſuch be the Views of Manufacturers, if in general they be ſo ſhort-ſighted, it can be no ſurpriſe, that they ſeem alarmed at any one being encouraged, who, they apprehend may work cheaper, put leſs Value on his Time, or be content with a ſmaller Profit. It is not to be doubted, but the Manufacturers in the *home Counties*, had they the leaſt Expectation of a favourable Hearing, would modeſtly deſire, that the Inhabitants of *Yorkſhire* and the *Northern Counties*, might be prohibited working in the ſame Manufacture with them, becauſe the Price of Labour and Proviſions is leſs in thoſe Parts than nearer *London*.

That the Deſires of the Manufacturers have in ſome meaſure taken effect in *England*, the unuſual Complaint of the ſtagnated Sale of the *Engliſh Manufactures*, puts it beyond diſpute; and what in time may be the Conſequence, is too melancholy a Reflection for an *Iriſh Proteſtant* to dwell on, whoſe Being and Well-Being ſolely depends on *Britain*'s flouriſhing in *Trade* and *Manufactures*, and on the *Britiſh* People's abounding in Wealth and excelling in Power.

The

The Desires of the Manufacturers, however unreasonable, might be listened to, were there only *English* Shops open, for the Sale of those Goods, which are esteemed the Staple Manufactures of *England*; but alas! it cannot be concealed that many Nations are exerting themselves to the utmost, to rival *England* in her Trade and favourite Manufactures: and although it be admitted, that in foreign Countries the Materials necessary to certain Manufactures, are not so fit for Workmanship, nor the Workmen so expert as the *English*; yet if by any means, the Manufacture be brought to bear too high a Price, it may put some upon the Industry of manufacturing their own better; others upon Frugality, and contenting themselves with what they make at home; and the Ambition of some may be raised to supply other Markets. The *French* at this time are vying with *England* in some of her favourite Manufactures, not by the Goodness but the Cheapness of the Commodity, which they are enabled to do, by the Poverty and hard-living of the common People.

If Foreign *Papists*, who have received many Millions in Ballance of Trade from *Eng-*

England, and never returned one Shilling, who have ſeldom been in Alliance with *England*, and ſeldomer *England's* true Friends; if thoſe, who reap immenſe Profit from *Engliſh Abſentees*, and make no Return, are catching at the inferior part of an *Engliſh* Manufacture by underſelling: Would it be imprudent in the *Britiſh Nation* to let the *Iriſh* Proteſtants, with *Britiſh* Hearts join them in the Engagement as *Auxiliaries?* eſpecially ſince they may ſay, *Thus far ſhalt thou go, and no further*. In the mean time,

Theſe are external Evils, and are to be look'd on as hereditary Diſorders in the human Body, which, altho' they be not capable of abſolute Cure, yet by Circumſpection in Living and the Uſe of proper Remedies may be greatly alleviated. If our Conduct has been ſuitable to our Condition, we may be pitied but cannot be blamed; otherwiſe, *thy Evil is of thy ſelf, O Iſrael* *.

All wiſe *Lawgivers* have endeavoured to promote the Practice of ſocial Virtues, and a publick Spirit, to fence againſt growing *Luxury*, and to keep the Ballance of Power fixed; but the ableſt Politician could

* Nemo nocetur niſi ex ſe.

could never lay down a Set of Maxims equally necessary to every State; the Rules both of Government and Living, must vary according to the Circumstances, and Situation of the Place they are designed for; so that they may effectually answer the Ends of the Society, whether they be for Defence or Conquest, Arms or Trade.

In the *Commonwealth* of *Israel*, to keep the Ballance of Power annexed to the possession of small Lots of Ground, Usury amongst the *Israelites* was forbid; the *Jubilees* prevented absolute Alienations; the Ground being left every *seventh Year* untilled, enforced Frugality; and the Cities of *Refuge* taught Forgiveness for accidental Injuries.

In the *Lacedemonian* Constitution, the Prosperity of the State was made to consist in the warlike Disposition of the Citizens; in consequence of which, every thing was removed, which might divert their thoughts from martial Atchievements; Trade was forbid, the *Helots* tilled the Ground, and provided them with Necessaries, and Luxury was prohibited with all sorts of useful Money. By a due Observance of these Laws, that State long subsisted; but when *Lysander* brought home

the Spoils of *Athens*, Luxury took possession, and *that Commonwealth was irrecoverably ruined*.

The *Dutch* possessed of an inconsiderable Spot of Marshy Ground, unable to feed its Inhabitants, and unfit to furnish Materials for Variety of Manufactures, have by Wisdom and Frugality become a powerful People. With them, the Ballance of Power consists in Shipping and Money employed in Trade; their Land is of small Value and loaded with Taxes; they make their Ports free for Importation and Exportation; by which means, they abound in Shipping and their Trade is prodigious: yet they preserve themselves from Luxury, and defray the Expences of the Government, by a large Excise on the home Consumption, and a severe Tax upon all Superfluities. Thus they trade much, and consume little; they buy infinitely, but it is to sell again, either on Improvement of the Manufacture, or at a betrer Market; they furnish infinite Luxury, which they never practise, and traffick in Pleasures, which they never taste. By these means, notwithstanding the Frowns of Nature, they are become the Carriers of the World, and in no Country are the Poor more univer-

sally

ſally employed or better maintained, than in *Holland*.

The Cantons of *Switzerland* are ſituated in a barren Country, incapable of Trade or any exportable Manufacture, but *Soldiers*. Training up the People therefore in the Uſe of Arms is greatly attended to. As the Country is too poor to produce much by Taxes, Frugality is ſubſtituted in the room of Riches; they are ſenſible, that in caſe of an Attack, the Country would never be able either to buy Arms, provide Ammunition, or maintain an Army for its Defence; the ſmall Produce therefore of their publick Revenues, is carefully laid by for Times of Danger, and their Arſenals are filled in Times of publick Tranquillity. By this Frugality, their Capital Stocks are increaſed to an incredible degree *. To preſerve ſo neceſſary a Parſimony, expenſive Diverſions are abſolutely forbid, and their ſumptuary Laws are very ſevere: By theſe Means *the Helvetick Aſſociation has long ſubſiſted.*

By comparing the Conſtitutions of well-governed States, we may perceive, that by *Luxury* is meant, a greater Conſumption of foreign Commodities, than is conſiſtent

 with

* Parſimonia magnum eſt Vectigal.

with the Situation and Circumſtances of the Country, and an Increaſe of thoſe Pleaſures and publick Diverſions which divert the Inhabitants from purſuing their true Intereſt †. *Luxury* in the Publick produces the ſame Effects as Extravagance in private Families, in both Caſes the Circumſtances are to be conſidered: What would be *Luxury* in *Switzerland*, would not be ſo in *Holland*. The *Iriſh* being poſſeſſed of a larger Scope of Ground, and conſequently of more natural Wealth, may be indulged in thoſe things which would be ruinous to the *Dutch*; and what would be the Exceſs of *Luxury* in *Ireland*, would be Parſimony in *England*, a Country abounding with natural Riches, a free and extenſive Trade, and bleſſed with the Enjoyment of many exportable Manufactures.

The Love of one's Country, or in other words, a publick Spirit, and Luxury, are in ſo direct a Line of Oppoſition, that they cannot jointly exiſt in the ſame Perſon, nor indeed long in the ſame Country. They have a natural Succeſſion, for the Extinction of either is productive of the other. This renders it difficnlt, if not impoſſible to treat of them ſeparately.

While

* Animos avertit à memoria Patriæ. *Liv.*

While *Virtue* and a *publick Spirit* existed in *Rome*, the *Romans* were Masters of the World, and revered by the most distant Nations; they could then view the Treasures of foreign *Kings* with Contempt, they valued Riches only as a Means of promoting the Publick Good, and as necessary Wings to their Value to soar higher in Glory. In those days, Virtue alone was admired, and a *Dictator* could by common Consent be called from the Plough. But when the Effeminacy of the Eastern Nations, and the *Asiatick Luxuries* were introduced into *Rome*, the Case was altered; Pomp, Equipage, luxurious Feastings, profuse Entertainments and expensive Diversions were in vogue, Riches were the only Virtue capable of obtaining publick Respect or Preferments in the Commonwealth, as they alone could provide suitable Nourishment for their depraved Appetites *. How contemptible then grew the *Roman* Name, how soon their boasted *Liberty* was changed into the most abject *Slavery*, is universally known. But it is needless to labour this Point, since it is allowed by all that *Luxury* has been the Bane and Destruction

* Operæ pretium est audire, qui omnia præ divitiis humana spernunt, neque honori magno locum, neque Virtuti putant esse, nisi effusè affluant opes. *Liv.*

ſtruction of every virtuous and free State, which by *Hiſtory* we know to have fallen into Decay. If therefore we are informed of what Repute a publick Spirit or diſintereſted Conduct is in any Country, we may eaſily judge both of its Happineſs and the Duration thereof.

As GOD ALMIGHTY has created in human Minds a Deſire of Immortality, to prompt us to Acts of Piety, ſo he has implanted in our Natures, a violent Paſſion for Applauſe and an immortal Name, as an Inducement to the Practice of ſocial Virtue, by which alone they are to be obtained. Statues of *Braſs* and *Marble* may convey to Poſterity the outward Form of the Body; they may be admired for juſt Proportion and curious Workmanſhip, but if the Perſon whom they repreſent, has not been attached to the Intereſt of Mankind, and *a Lover of his Country*, they only immortalize his Infamy.

It is no eaſy Matter to think properly of either the Actions of our Contemporaries, or our own Conduct; artificial Shadings, which laſt for a Time, Envy, or Self-love, generally caſt the Ballance on the wrong Side. But we impartially give Sentence on the Dead, without conſidering the Similitude

tude there may be between them and us. The best way then of knowing what Posterity ought, nay, will think of our Conduct, is to see what Judgment we form of the like Actions in former Times. Who would not rather be a *Timoleon* than a *Cæsar* crowned with Laurels, and entering *Rome* triumphant over the Liberties of his Country? The false Encomiums bestowed on him by Sycophants, during the Usurpation of the *Julian* Family, may raise a Mist before some Peoples Eyes, which may suspend their just Censure, but they can never reconcile the Actions of that Debancher of the *Roman* People to any virtuous Mind. It is a just Observation, *Would you know what you ought to think of* Cæsar, *think of* Catiline. What grateful Sentiments do we retain of a *Burleigh*, or a *Walsingham*; when the very Names of a *Buckingham*, a *Laud*, or a *Lauderdale* cannot be repeated without Indignation?

Queen *Elizabeth* enjoyed the universal Love of her Subjects. She might perhaps have been reckoned penurious by a few Courtiers, for her Love and Generosity were equally diffused through her whole People; her Reign was long and happy, and tho' encircled by powerful Enemies, the Love of her Subjects raised a Bulwark round

round the *Throne*, which the Machinations of *Rome* could never penetrate. In the three ſucceeding *Reigns*, the Generoſity or rather Profuſion of the *Prince* was extended to a few Favourites; they blazed with Honours, and abounded with ill-gotten Wealth; but the People in general grievouſly complained, that neither their Intereſt, their Liberty, or their Property was regarded; her *Reign* is yet diſtinguiſhed by *the bleſſed Days of the Renowned Queen* Elizabeth; the Reader is left to give a Character to their Reigns, and to determine what Advantage accrues to their Memories from the Records of *England*.

England may date the Flouriſhing of her Trade and Manufactures, and conſequently her Glory, from the *Reign* of Queen *Elizabeth*. The well-tempered Frugality of that *Princeſs* had a benign Influence on the whole Nation, and checked Luxury in the Bud *. At that time the *Engliſh* thought it no hardſhip to wear their own Manufactures then not brought to any great Perfection, and when better and cheaper might have been had from foreign Parts. *What Senſe do we retain of this Conduct*, which eſtabliſhed the Woollen Manu-

* Regis ad Exemplum totus componitur Orbis. *Juv.*

Manufacture in *England*, by bringing it to Perfection.

In the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, *Ireland* was too much embroiled, and the Protestant Interest at too low an Ebb, to reap such Advantages from her wise and ever-admired Government: The *Irish* Protestants received Assistance from her Arms, but their Circumstances admitted of no Thoughts but those of Defence. But *Providence* designing to leave us without Excuse, has blessed our Days with a *Prince, who has blended Publick Liberty with Sovereign Power, and in whose Court we see Majesty and Frugality, each under the Conduct of Reason, struggling for Pre-eminence* *. If we make not a proper Use of this favourable Opportunity, when *the most acceptable Service we can render to his Majesty, is to increase and establish our own Happiness and Prosperity*, what a degenerate and contemptible Name shall we transmit to Posterity!

Nothing can be a plainer Proof of the mighty Influence of the Desire of Applause, and a lasting good Name, or the Impossibility of obtaining either by any other

* Augeo Principis munus quum ostendo Liberalitati esse Rationem, Ambitio enim & Jactantia & Effusio, et quidvis potius quam Liberalitas existimanda est, cui ratio non constat. *Plin.*

Means than a disinterested Conduct for the Good of our Country, than that all Mankind with one Consent, put on the Semblance of a *Publick Spirit*; nay, such as are conscious they do not deserve it, and whose wicked Resolutions may inform them, they never will, yet look on it as the highest Injury to be denied the glorious Title of *Patriots*. To call one a Lyar is the highest and most grating Affront that can be offered to a Gentleman; it implies Cowardice, and every thing that is evil: What then must pass in their Breasts, whose outward Professions, publick Actions, and inward Sentiments give each other the Lye?

When the *Queen* and *Cardinal*, during the Minority of *Lewis* XIV. of *France*, pillaged and oppressed the People to supply their Prodigality, the *Parliament of Paris* look'd coolly and indifferently on; nay, probably tortured *Texts* of *Scripture*, to prove Subjection in all Cases to the *higher Powers*: but when they found the Oppression reached themselves, and that their Servility could not procure them an Exception in the common Calamity, they seemed only to breath a *Publick Spirit*, and to be actuated by a sincere *Love of their Country*. This gave rise to the famous Arret of Union of all the Parliaments; but altho' the People might be

glad

glad of ſuch powerful Aſſiſtance in the Time of Diſtreſs, yet how contemptible does their Conduct appear at preſent? Had any Number of Men acted like the *Parliament of Paris* at the late *happy Revolution*, they could not with Reaſon have expected a Share in thoſe immortal Praiſes which theſe Iſlands will beſtow, to the lateſt Generation, on the noble *Patriots* of thoſe Days.

As an Addition to the *eternal Sanctions* annexed to the *Laws of God*, *Providence* has ordered, that ſevere temporal Puniſhments ſhould be the neceſſary Conſequences of national Crimes, and Actions detrimental to our Country; as Poverty, of *Luxury*; Slavery, of *Effeminacy*; and a general permanent Contempt, of *all ſelfiſh Actions*; a Contempt, which in Juſtice to the *true Patriot*, Mankind cannot deny *; nay, Selfiſhneſs is contrary to the very Inſtinct of human Nature: Incommunicative Pleaſures are enjoyed in Privacy, whereas Muſick is attended to without Shame. Who would not be out of Countenance if catched alone feeding on the expenſive Rarities of the Seaſon? But who is not proud of entertaining virtuous Friends?

* Neque enim ſatis amârint bonos Principes, qui malos ſatis non oderint. *Plin.*

Humanity distinguishes the rational Creature from the Brute, and in our greatest Troubles the Compassion and Sympathy of a worthy Person affords Comfort, if not Relief; yet this Satisfaction is denied to Distresses arising from selfish Actions, or a Conduct injurious to Mankind. The *Poets* well know, if they would touch the tender Passions in a human Soul, they must shew *Virtue in Distress*. Should a *Poet* design to make our K. *Henry* III. the Hero of a *Tragedy*, he must necessarily throw a Veil over his Extravagancies and Prodigality, his Disregard of the Liberties and Properties of his People, and the Nation's Glory; no mention must be made of that Profusion of publick Honours, and the honest Wealth of his Subjects, which he poured upon worthless and evil-designing Counsellors; of his solemn but equivocal Assurances in Parliament to observe the *Magna Charta*, and protect his People in the Possession of their just *Rights*; or his renewing his Oppressions with redoubled Violence, when the Storm was over; and lastly, his skreening the wicked Instruments of all the publick Calamities from publick Vengeance, must be passed over in silence: He must be represented as hunted by Faction and self-inte-

interested Men, and produced in his Royal Robes, attended by his Queen and Children, begging from *Abbey* to *Abbey* for Victuals and Lodging; bearing his Condition with exemplary Resignation, his Mouth filled with the Love of his People, and the highest Encomiums of the *English* Constitution. By such a Management a Temporary Compassion may be obtained for his *Royal Sufferings*, and such a *poetical* Partiality we could easily pardon; but should an *Historian* act thus, and either intirely skip over, or only slightly touch, with a shading Hand, the *Causes*, and at the same time be very circumstantial in his Relation of the *Consequences*, he could never be forgiven by a *candid Reader*.

Such Authors as have attempted an Apology for the Conduct of *Julius Cæsar*, have aggravated the Degeneracy and Corruption of the *Romans* at that time, that the Reader might view the Fall of the *Roman State* without Compassion, and consequently think of the *Usurper* without Indignation. But when a Case is fairly stated, we form a more upright Judgment: We mourn the Fate of *Cato* and *Brutus*, when the Agonies of *Tiberius* give Pleasure.

By

By Nature Men are equally intitled to the Possession of the Earth; Honours and great Estates are either Rewards for signal Service, rendered to the Publick, or the necessary Consequences of a frugal industrious Conduct highly beneficial to Mankind; and that the present Possessors are protected in the Enjoyment of both on a Supposition that the same divine and beneficent Qualities yet exist, the *attainting the Blood*, and *forfeiting the Estates* of such as evidently act in Disturbance of the *publick* Tranquillity, puts past dispute.

Ignorance and a narrow Education, the Influences of Necessity, and the Consideration of being only indebted to their Country for their Birth and a poor Livelihood earned by hard Labour, may sometimes tempt the meanest part of the Community to Actions destructive of Society; yet *Death*, and the Confiscation of their little Substance, is the Portion allotted such Criminals, by our *Laws*: What Punishment then is due *to even a Coolness towards the Welfare of their Country, in those who enjoy the Reward of a publick Spirit, by being what they are?*

Honours, Titles, particular Professions and great Fortunes, may for a time dazzle the

the Eyes of the Vulgar, but can never challenge Respect and Veneration from the thinking part of Mankind, unless accompanied by beneficent Dispositions towards the human Race: We adore the virtuous Poverty of *L. Q. Cincinnatus* and *Attilius Regulus*, but despise the wicked Grandure of *Caligula* and *Nero*. Such external Advantages denote the Possessor nobly or virtuously descended, and influenced by the Example of an *Ancestry*, which would rather have chosen the severest Calamity, than the lasting Infamy of a little, narrow, self-interested Soul: We conclude such a one is endowed with a thorough Knowledge of the true Interest of his Country, *the Fruits of a generous Education*; we know he is placed above the Temptations of real Necessity, and suppose the Advantages which he reaps from the Prosperity of his Country too great to be counter-ballanced, in his discerning Judgment, by private Views, ridiculous Vanities or dishonourable Actions; and for these Reasons, the Person of a *Nobleman* is freed from *Arrests*, the *Honour* of a *Lord*, in many Cases, is accepted of instead of an *Oath*; the Asseveration of a *Gentleman* is of great Repute amongst us, and the *Word* of *others* much depended on: but when Experience has demon-

demonſtrated ſuch charitable Suppoſitions to have been ill founded, the Contempt and Indignation of all honeſt Men have been poured on the Criminal in proportion to his Station, and the publick Advantages which he enjoyed, and in proportion to the Reſpect and Reverence which he claimed and would have merited, had he acted faithfully and diſintereſtedly for the Good of his Country; and with Reaſon, for a mighty Evil is productive of many ſmaller ones, and villanous Actions hurt the Community, in proportion to the Station of the Offender *.

No Nation can flouriſh which is not bleſſed with a virtuous Nobility and Gentry, ſincerely attached to the true Intereſt of their Country. In the Time of the *Roman Emperors*, when it was otherwiſe, there was a ſurprizing Circle of Corruption; the common People imitated the Idleneſs and Lazineſs, the Luxury and Venality, the Riots and Debaucheries of their Superiors †; and in return the Patricians condeſcended to the *Dreſs, Dialogue, Wit and Diverſions of the Dregs of the People:* Thus *Luxury* and every ſordid Vice like a Torrent ſoon overflowed the Land; *Oaths*

* —— Nunc Uberiore Rapina
Peccat in urbe Manus. *Claud.*

† Plebs ſordida theatri ſueta. *Tacit.*

Oaths were contemned, the Laws were evaded, Vice was turned into Mirth, the most sacred things into Ridicule, and Corruption was called the Custom of the Age *. Sure then it is both the Duty and Interest of People of Distinction not only to cherish, but to be the Guardians of a publick Spirit, which, like the human Body, attains its Growth by slow degrees, but is liable to Destruction in a Moment.

There cannot be a more contradictory, despicable and depraved Character, than a *Nobleman* or a *Gentleman*, and not a *Patriot*: Publick Honours and Wealth ought only to accompany publick Spirits. He that wants such a Disposition, abdicates his Honours and Estate with the Love and Regard of Mankind. He is essentially disqualified from bearing any Trust for his Country, or shining in her Honours; he may be flattered by a few Instruments of *Luxury*, but they are to private Life what *Sycophants* are to *Princes*, they both produce the same Effects, and a Number of either portends publick Calamity.

History informs us, that of old the Love of one's Country was esteemed the most

* Nondum hæc, quæ nunc tenet Sæculum, negligentia Deum venerat, nec interpretando sibi quisquis jusjurandum, et leges aptas faciebat. *Liv.*

noble Passion which could possess the Heart of Man. In those Days, we learn that the *Romans* never put Life or its Comforts in competition with the Good of their Country *; the *Lacedemonians* could forgo Riches, Pleasure and Ease, for the publick Weal; and the Inhabitants of *Xanthus* voluntarily killed themselves, rather than see their City in Slavery: When we consider the numberless Instances of this sort both at home and abroad in former times, and that at present in some *Popish* Countries this generous Passion has been succeeded by an ignoble Strife betwixt Luxury and Servility, † and at the same time consider that the natural Passions, Abilities, and Periods of human Life, have been the same in both Ages; the Cause of so great a Degeneracy may seem a *Paradox*. But if we reflect on the Nature of Man, how apt we are to be mistaken about Generals, how few are qualified for abstracted reasoning, and of those few, how few apply themselves to it, and the small Effect that the most demonstrative Reason has on the Practice of even these, Mankind being rather determined by the Impulse of their pressing and vitiated Appetites, than by

* Dulce et decorum est pro patriâ mori. *Hor.*

† Hanc modestiam, æquitatemque, et altitudinem animi ubi nunc in uno inveneris, quæ tunc populi universi fuit. *Liv.*

by perſpective Good *, we muſt conclude, that the Univerſality of this beneficent Paſſion among the Ancients, has been owing to the ſtrongeſt Aſſociation of Ideas in their Youth, or, in other Words, to their Education.

The *Ancients*, unaſſiſted by the Divine Oracles, and notwithſtanding *the Imperfection of their Morality*, ſeemed perfectly to have underſtood the Value of that wiſe Precept, *Train up a Child in the Way he ſhall go, and when he is old he will not depart from it* †. Experience taught them, that Virtue, the Support of every State, could neither be propagated or preſerved, but by a virtuous Education. The *Roman Hiſtorian* attributes the Defection of the Sons of *Junius Brutus* to their vicious Education in the luxurious and debauched Court of a cruel *Tyrant* ‡. Education was therefore looked on, as the moſt publick Concern; the Inſpection of it was committed to the wiſeſt and moſt prudent Magiſtrates; and the Youth were inſtructed by the moſt diſintereſted *Philo-*

* Video meliora proboque, deteriora ſequor.

† Ut malè poſuimus initia, ſic cætera ſequuntur. *Cic.*

‡ Aſſueti more regio vivere. — inter ſe conquerebantur — Regem hominem eſſe, à quo impetres ubi jus, ubi injuria, opus ſit; eſſe gratiæ locum, eſſe beneficio;

ſophers. At ſeven Years old the *Lacedemonian* Children were delivered to the Magiſtrates to be educated according to the Rules of that State. It is recorded of the *Areopagites* or *Athenian* Senators, *That they were not content with having ordered ſtated Puniſhments for certain Crimes, but made ſuch wiſe Regulations for the Education of their Youth, that there were no Crimes for Puniſhment.* The Politeneſs of *Greece*, and the *old Roman Parſimony*, were agreeably blended in thoſe who were intruſted with the Education of the *Roman* Youth; they were equally eminent for their Temperance and Moderation, their Humility and Learning; they were living Examples of the publick Spirit which they inculcated, and of thoſe beneficent Diſpoſitions which they recommended; the Love of their Country attended every Action of their Lives, and every Word they uttered; their Honour was great, but their Gain moderate, and annexed to a ſtrict Execution of their Duty. The higher the Station of a Student, the ſtricter were the Obligations laid on him to Application, and the more aſſiduous was the Care of

neficio; et iraſci et ignoſcere poſſe; inter amicum et inimicum noſſe. Leges rem ſurdam inexorabilem eſſe; ſalubriorem, melioremque inopi quam potenti; nihil laxamenti nec veniæ habere, ſi modum exceſſeris, periculoſum eſſe in tot humanis erroribus ſola innocentia vivere. *Liv.*

of the Philosopher, to imprint on his tender Soul, virtuous and generous Principles. He was taught from the first to despise Riches, in comparison of Virtue, and made to know, that neither Titles nor Money could dispense with the Rules of the Society, nor attone for Idleness, the Irregularities of Life, or the Want of a *publick Spirit*.

Tutors thus qualified, and the Methods of Education thus regulated, must necessarily have produced Pupils of *Immortal Name*; by these Means a *Roman* Youth frequently put on *Patriotism* with the manly Robe, and was qualified to fill the most important Post in the *Commonwealth in his tender Years*: such was *Valerius Corvinus*, such was *Scipio*.

When the *Church* of *Rome* resolved to establish her Usurpation, not only over the Bodies but the Minds of Men, the World was sufficiently viciated, one would think, for any wicked Purpose, by the prevailing Luxury of the preceding Ages, and by the Reigns of so many *Imperial Monsters*; yet she judged the Minds of Men not sufficiently debased to swallow her gross Absurdities, unless Virtue was pulled up by the Root *, all useful Learning extinguished, and the very Name of Publick Spirit obliterated. But

* Ipsam exscindere Virtutem. *Tacit.*

But despairing of Power to hinder all Men from Reading, and judging it impossible to destroy all valuable Books, she was content, by gradual Steps, to prosecute her Designs, greatly wicked, and destructive of every manly Virtue. In order to this, she put Mankind on a wrong Scent, and invented a nonsensical *Jargon*, an infinite Number of unintelligible *Distinctions*, *Definitions*, and *Divisions*, which she called *Learning*; a Learning exquisitely adapted to perplex the Head, without improving the Understanding or mending the Heart.

As she dreaded Common Sense, and every one any way interested in the Prosperity of his Country, or the Welfare of Mankind, she resolved to turn the World topsy-turvy: A proficiency in this useless Stuff, which ingenious Spirits could never drudge at, was the only necessary Qualification of Preferment; and Men eminent for Principles destructive of Society were chosen to draw up Rules for Education, which might gradually instill into the Youth, narrow Notions, cruel Prejudices, a haughty and servile Deportment.

Neither Gravity, Temperance, Moderation, Humility, a Knowledge of Mankind, Experience in Affairs, or a *publick Spirit* were reputed necessary Qualifications for an Instructor

Instructor of Youth in those Days; such rather gloried in propagating Principles inconsistent with publick Liberty, effectually to incapacitate the Nobility and Gentry from opposing her Designs. It was on all Occasions inculcated, that Application was only required of those who wanted Bread; and that this Notion might be deeply imprinted in the Minds of young Gentlemen, Idleness was encouraged in proportion to the Station of the Student, and Money washed out the Stains of Negligence and Irregularity. Thus the Church of *Rome* attempted to make young Gentlemen her Dupes, and sent them into the World, at an Age, when the Pleasures of Luxury make the most furious Attack, with Heads either empty or filled with Trifles, and with Minds unfortified by *Virtue*: Is it any Wonder, if under such Management, the Practice of every Social Virtue was disregarded?

But the *glorious Reformation* hath banished all such vile Arts from amongst us, and to our inexpressible Joy, *Virtue and all sorts of Learning flourish in our University*; yet in the Opinion of some she labours under one considerable Discouragement. We very well know the Intention of the Church of *Rome*, in enjoining *Celibacy in her Clergy*; but of what

what use *Protestant Celibacy* can be, is difficult to determine. Since Academical Statutes cannot extinguish natural Passions, and since so many, and such comfortable Settlements, are provided for such as incline to change their Condition; we must expect to see a quick Rotation of *Fellows*; and to our Grief, the Time may come, when a Set of raw, unexperienced Youths may be intrusted with the Education of *both the Flower and Hopes of the Nation.*

If, notwithstanding the Advantages of our Education, the Love of our Country grows *Lukewarm*, it is not to be doubted, but our *Legislators* will make the Cause of so ruinous a Degeneracy, the Subject of a *Parliamentary Inquiry*, and apply Remedies suitable to the Urgency of our Affairs.

That our Actions are not greatly influenced by a *Publick Spirit*; the common, but pernicious Practice of *running Goods* too plainly evinces: Nothing is more frequent, than to hear one lament the sinking Condition of the publick Revenue, when the same Morning he has contributed towards its bad State, by buying Goods, which, he knew, ought to have been forfeited by Law: Many of our

Importers

Importers only consider the present personal Profit, however wickedly obtained, and many Buyers, only the imaginary cheapness of stolen Goods, *for such are run ones* *. Inform a Person, even of some Reputation, that the Goods he buys have not paid the publick Duties, he answers; *That is none of my Business, let the Custom-House Officers look to that.* When you endeavour to convince a clandestine Trader of the Heinousness of his Crime, he justifies his Conduct in the following Manner; " *Was it a Transgression of the* " *Laws of God and of Nature, and in-* " *consistent with Religion and Piety,* it " would be strenuously pressed against by " our Clergy. *Was it a Crime equal to* " *private Theft,* the Punishment would " be equal; *Did it rob every Man in the* " *Kingdom of his Substance, the fair* " *Trader of his honest Profit and the Ma-* " *nufacturer of his daily Bread, or had it* " *any tendency towards the Destruction* " *of the Government*; the Prosecution of " Smugglers would be enforced by Laws " like those against the Composition of " Felony; the Law of the Land would " know such a Crime as *Misprision* of " Clandestine Trade, all Accessaries would " be made equally Principals, and Brands " of Publick Infamy would be placed on

* Ibi fas, ubi maxima merces. *Luc.*

" the Importer, the Receiver, the Con-
" cealer and Buyer of Run Goods; *Was*
" *defrauding the Publick a ſcanda-*
" *lous and diſhonourable Practice, or*
" *highly injurious to the Nation*; the
" calling Goods run, would be no Re-
" commendation, nor promote their Sale.
" Perſons nearly intereſted in the Welfare
" of their Country, would not let *Haw-*
" *kers* into their Houſes, nor conceal their
" Knowledge of ſuch Offenders; or when
" ſuch are detected, the Law would not
" be ſatisfied with a trifling *Seizure*, but
" ſome corporal and infamous Puniſh-
" ment would be inflicted; is *petty Lar-*
" *ceny* only guarded againſt by reſtoring
" ſtolen Goods? *Did Gentlemen imagine*
" *that this Practice muſt neceſſarily bring*
" *on a Land Tax, their immediate De-*
" *ſtruction*, they would ſeriouſly apply
" themſelves to diſcourage it: The Law
" has preſented the *Clandeſtine Trader*
" with an *Alternative*, either to pay the
" Publick Duties, or run the Riſque of cer-
" tain moderate Penalties; he joyns Iſſue
" with the Law; if he is catched, he pays
" his Mulct, and is again *Rectus in Curio*,
" neither Shame nor the Reſentment of
" Mankind attends him; the Caſe is not
" altered from what it was, when the Pub-
" lick Revenues were framed by Court Fa-
" vourites at a great undervalue; for the

" Nation has, with one Consent, thrown
" up a Fence round the Smugglers; it is e-
" qually infamous to be an Informer of a
" *publick Robbery*, as to be a Concealer of
" a *private one*; even Perjury, in Promo-
" tion of Clandestine Trade, is looked
" on with a more favourable Eye." A la-
mentable Case if true. It was not so of old; by the *Athenian Law, no free* Athenian *could be put into Bonds for any other Crime than robbing the Publick*: But it may be said, *that Compassion and not want of Regard for the Publick stifles Informations, and damps the Activity of both the Magistrates and private Gentlemen*: But where is the Compassion then for the fair Dealer, the Manufacturer, and the Husband-man, who must make up the Deficiency *?

It may be objected, *that a Severity in this Particular would clog the Wheels of Trade.* Severity can never be properly applied to such Sanctions, as the Corruptions of Men have made necessary to enforce Obedience to just and reasonable Laws; it must be allowed, that a Country blest with Variety of exportable Manufactures, must necessarily import foreign Manufactures, and when they can be re-exported to Advantage, their Importation ought to be encouraged; but this is not our Case; Ireland *exports no Manufactures but Linnen, that only to*

* Crudelitatem Damnatis, in crudelitatem Ruitis. *Liv.*

Great Britain; and she is excepted out of this Reasoning. To foreign Markets we send the Necessaries of Life, and bring home Trifles; for Instance, we send to *France Butter and Beef*, with which they supply their Plantations; If we did not furnish them with these Particulars, their Plantations must be supplyed by others, and the *French* lose the Profit of Re-exportation. In Return of these Necessaries, what do we import from *France* of any Value, but *Vanities for our Backs, Diseases for our Bodies, and Poverty and Idleness for our Manufacturers and Husbandmen?* In general, all our Importations of Consumable Commodities, but from *England*, are so destructive of our very Being, that they neither deserve the Name nor Countenance of *Trade*: Some may complain, but it must be observed, that a Trade may be very beneficial to the Merchant, and at the same Time highly injurious to the Nation. The Importation of *Cambricks* from *Flanders*, and *Velvets* from *Holland* and *Genoa*, may be very advantagious to the Importer, but every one knows how destructive they are to the Country.

The *Running of Goods* prevents us from knowing our Condition, the Ballances of Trade struck in the *Examinators* Books in the *Custom-House*, are very deceitful. When

Black

Black Luteſtrings were uſed, hardly one Piece appeared on thoſe Books, when five hundred might have been bought in the City of *Dublin*. How is it poſſible to ballance our Trade with *France*, when above two Thirds of our Brandies are run? If we would be happy, all Clandeſtine Trade muſt be diſcouraged. We have the Means in our own Power, we need fear no oppoſition in *preventing this pernicious Practice, ſo highly injurious to the Trade and Manufactures of* Ireland, *and of no real Advantage to* Britain.

The *Church of Rome*, under the venerable Pretence of promoting *Piety*, eſtabliſhed a Number of *Holy-days*, almoſt equal to the Days of the Year; a moſt effectual Contrivance to render Mankind poor, miſerable, idle, debauched, and ſeditious*. The Poverty of the Common People in *Popiſh* Countries, in the moſt favourable Climates, and amidſt the Bounties of Nature is juſtly attributed to the Number of their *Holy-days* or more properly *Idle-days*; they cramp Trade, diſcourage Manufactures, and prevent the Improvement of Land. The Price of Labour muſt be either raiſed in proportion to their Number, or the *Holy-day-keepers* half ſtarved, be rendred unfit for Work. The Expences of a *Holiday* are generally double those

* Omnia mala exempla, bonis Initiis orta ſunt. *Saluſt.*

those of a *Working-day*; and on the Day after, Sickness too often supplies the place of Labour; they furnish an Opportunity to the worst disposed Tradesmen and Labourers to enter into unlawful Combinations about raising the Price of Labour, to compensate for their *Idleness*. The Mind of Man must be employed where there is Life there must be Motion †; but the Work of Idleness is a sure Mischief, as the Work of Industry is Health to the Constitution. In *Popish* Countries, *Religion* prevents *Virtue* from removing these Evils; but why *Popish-Holidays* should be countenanced, allowed, or even connived at in a *Protestant Country, where the Uncertainty of the Weather gives frequent Interruptions to Business*, is difficult to determine.

It is the Duty of every Member of the Community, to provide Employment for the *Poor* to the utmost of his Ability. The *Laws* should enforce Work, and *the Magistrates, the Nobility and Gentry*, if they have any Regard for the Publick Welfare, or their own Interest, should see strict Obedience paid to them; *for bad Laws well executed, are better, than good Laws not duly observed.* Nor can the Papists say they are persecuted, unless they are allowed to be useless Drones in the Common-Wealth.

† Non omnibus Dormit.

Wealth. The *Regulars of the Church of Rome* may as justly complain of not being allowed a Residence amongst us. If some Gentlemen skilled in *Political Arithmetick*, would calculate what *Irish* Holidays cost the Nation, it is probable a surprising Sum would appear, and a large *List* of the worst sort of *Absentees* would be brought to Light; but such as are absolutely in our own Power.

But the great Bane of *Ireland is Luxury* *. The Pleasure and Indolence which attends it, viciates our Appetites, makes us love what we ought to hate, and in a little time our Judgments become as partial as our Affections. If we look back on our *Ancestors*, how happy would they have thought themselves, could a little *Frugality, a Regulation of Dress, and Moderation in Diet* have promoted the *Protestant* Religion, maintained the Poor by encouraging Manufactures, or made their Country flourish. If we consider our own Interest, or desire Peace of Mind, we will resist the Temptations of *Luxury*; for Luxurious Appetites exceed our Fortunes, and continue when the Means of satisfying them are flown †. If we have any Regard for our Posterity, we ought to consider the Circumstances we shall leave

* ——— sævior armis
Luxuria incubuit——— *Luc.*

† Luxuria Principi gravis, paupertas vix à privato toleranda. *Salust.*

leave them in. Have we any tenderness for our poor Countrymen? We meet with too many Objects to move our Compassion. Would we rather enjoy the Blessings than be loaded with the Curses of the Poor? We must give them Work, and thereby Bread to the utmost of our Power. Both the *Publick*, and private *Persons* ought to be on their Guard against the *Luxurious Man*; *for Luxury naturally begets either publick Rapine, or private Injustice* *.

By keeping a strict Eye upon Luxury, we have it in *our Power* to do great Things for the good of our Country; but it is one of the peculiar Misfortunes of *Ireland*, that some People, without considering what ought to be done in our present Circumstances, are perpetually longing after *the Flesh Pots of Egypt*, and only promote destructive Murmurings. Nothing will satisfy them but Impossibilities; they only attend the Execution of impracticable Schemes.

It has been computed that the Value of the whole Woollen Manufacture of *England* in one Year amounts to 8, 000, 000 *l*; for the Home Consumption, 6, 000, 000 *l*; for Exportation only, 2, 000, 000 *l*. Now is it not plain, that if *England* had no Woollen

* Alieni appetens sui profusus. *Salust.*

Woollen Manufacture, and the People were equally cloathed, besides the Loss of 2,000,000 *l.* exported, a much greater Evil would ensue: For 6,000,000 *l.* must go out of the Country annually for cloathing the Inhabitants. Could the *Indies* support this?

The *Vanity* of a certain Nation keeps the *Gentlemen at home*, and makes every one wear their own Manufactures: The *Love then we bear our Country* must be very small, and our *Virtue* not worth naming, if they cannot produce such good Effects in *Ireland*, as a *National Vice* does in another Country.

The Manufacturer consumes the Produce of the Land, maintains the Husbandman, and supports the Gentleman; and consequently is in strict Justice intitled, not only to their Favour and Protection, but to the Benefit of their Consumption. If Ingratitude has seized our Souls, if we contribute to the Luxury of the *French*, *Dutch*, *Flanderkin* and *Italian* Manufacturers, when our own are starving, and when our Circumstances afford no *Crumbs*, *is it not to take the Childrens Bread and cast it unto Dogs?*

The failing of Manufactures must necessarily sink the Price of Land, and lessen the Value of Gentlemen's Estates, if we discourage them for a *richer Look, more glaring Colours, or a better fancy'd Pattern, do we not sell our Birth-right for a Mess of Pottage?*

When the Prosperity of a Country is owing to some particular Conduct of her Inhabitants, every one claims a Share in the Reputation of it; but when a Country is sinking, all would appear innocent, every one endeavours by Excuses, however lame, to throw the Blame on others; but it is easy to see, when People design only to *load a Question* which they are ashamed openly to oppose. For instance;

Our Manufacturers are idle, and do not deserve Encouragement. Ambition puts every thing in Motion. Would any Soldier ever venture his Life if he never expected to rise above a private *Musquetier?* When a Manufacturer expects to make a Fortune, he works diligently, and with Pleasure, but if his Prospects are terminated by Poverty and necessitous Bread, he grows indifferent, and endeavours to divert Melancholy Reflections *. If you would have your

* ——— Duas tantum res anxius optat.
Panem & Circences, ——— *Juv.*

your Manufacturers induſtrious, you muſt make Induſtry to *flow with Milk and Honey, which is the glory of every Land.*

Our Manufactures are dearer and worſe than can be imported from foreign Parts. A looſe ill founded Accuſation. But admit it. Nothing can make a Manufacture cheap or good, but a Number of Hands employed in it; and nothing can put a Number of Hands to work, but a quick Sale and a ſure Conſumption. Had the *Engliſh* made ſuch Objections in the *Reign of Queen Elizabeth*, the *Woollen Manufacture* had not flouriſhed in that *Kingdom*, as it does at preſent. Had the *Iriſh* thought thus of Manufactures *thirty Years* ago, the *Linnen Manufacture* would have been in a poor Condition; for its well known, that at that Time, a Piece of *Cloath* would have ſold for *four Pounds*, which may be now bought for *forty Shillings.*

Does not every one do it? would you have me out of the Faſhion? It is better to be out of the World. This is too true, but this will equally apologize for the Corruption of any Age. When Virtue has any Influence, the Rule is *thou ſhall not follow a Multitude to do Evil*, but *walk in thy Houſe with a perfect Heart.*

But

But what does my single Example signify? The single Opposition of that Friar *Martin Luther*, gave the Church of *Rome* a Wound which she will never recover. The single and publick Spirited Opposition of *Ship-money* by *John Hampden*, contributed not a little to the Removal of that Oppression. When many Gentlemen of Distinction, discouraged by the Defeat of *Canne*, designed to fly from *Rome* with their Effects, *Scipio*, then only a Youth, with his Sword drawn, single opposed so wicked a Resolution; and with such Vigour, *that he made them swear they would not desert their Country in Distress.* If these and many other Instances of the same kind be not sufficient to shew the weakness of the Objection, let us reflect on the Duty we owe our *Country*, and how advantagious *Manufactures* have been unto us, and then the Holy Scripture present us with an Example worthy of the Imitation of *Patriots*. *Choose you this Day whom you will serve, but as for me and my House we will serve the Lord.*

F I N I S.